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ABSTRACT

Two social trends are affecting the way in which children--particularly those of different ethnic groups--become socialized: children are spending less time with parents and more in day care centers and schools, and desegregation alters normal patterns of peer relationships. Since classroom behavior is affected by antecedent social behaviors, a group of children were examined along several variables. Classroom goal structure and teacher behaviors were explored in relation to cooperative, competitive, and individualistic social orientation, self-esteem, and classroom climate, among Mexican American and Anglo American children. Teachers were systematically observed in their classrooms and children (77 Anglo, 30 Mexican American, aged 7-11) were tested on the Social Orientation Choice Card, Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale, and Anderson's My Class Inventory. Results indicate that: (1) teachers infrequently used competitive goal structures; (2) teacher behaviors and goal structures were related to social orientation and self-esteem of children in a culturally relative pattern; and (3) teacher behaviors were significantly related to positive classroom climates for both cultural groups. The cultural relativity of the interrelations among the school and child variables, and the possible antecedents of social orientation, and implications for desegregation are discussed. (Author/CKJ)

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Relations of Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors to Social Orientation, Self-Esteem, and Classroom Climate Among Anglo American and Mexican American Children[1]

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Running head: Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors

Relations of Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors to Social Orientation, Self-Esteem, and Classroom Climate Among Anglo American and Mexican American Children[1]

Psychologists, sociologists, and educators have theorized as to the powerful effect schools have on the development of social behavior in children (Dreeben, 1968; Johnson & Johnson, 1974; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977). Dreeben (1968) states that the peer relations which are developed in classrooms prepare children for adult roles in society. Whether children learn to cooperate or compete, they are learning citizenship skills which they will carry, as adults, to their work place. In a similar vein, Mussen and Eisenberg-Berg (1977) contend that teachers and peers obviously encourage or discourage prosocial behavior among children but that so little research has been done in this area that they cannot specify how.

In spite of agreement to the importance of school as a socializing agent, with few exceptions, previous educational research has investigated academic achievement to the near exclusion of the social consequences of schooling (Coleman, 1969; Dreeben, 1968; Gerard & Miller, 1975). Two recent social trends necessitate that social behavior in the classroom no longer remain relatively ignored. First, as children are spending less time with parents and more time in day care centers and schools, the family can no longer be considered the primary socializing unit (Bronfenbrenner, 1970). Second, the trend toward desegregation presents the necessity for better understanding the socializing effects of schooling on children's self-esteem and on peer relations among children of different ethnic groups.

In view of the need to empirically examine potential antecedents of social behavior in the classroom, the present study was designed to investigate the relation of two sets of school variables, classroom structure

and teacher behavior variables, to three child variables: social orientation, self-esteem, and classroom climate. The relation of those school and child variables was assessed separately among Anglo American and Mexican American children to determine the extent to which the relations were general or culturally relative.

Social Orientation

Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, and Snapp (1978) suggest it is the way the classroom is structured which determines competition, cooperation, self-esteem, and racial acceptance in a desegregated classroom. Aronson, et al. (1978) and Blaney, Stephan, Rosenfield, Aronson, and Sikes (1977) refer to cooperative, competitive, and individualistic goal structures as originally defined by Deutsch (1949). Cooperative goal structures are defined as social situations in which individuals are linked in a way which allows all individuals to obtain their goals as a unit. In competitive goal structures, individuals obtain their goals at the expense of others while individualistic goal structures allow one to obtain goals independently of others. It is generally believed that contemporary classroom teachers employ a disproportionate amount of competitive goal structures (Blaney, et al., 1977; Johnson & Johnson, 1974; Sharan, Hertz-Lazarowitz, & Ackerman, Note 1). However, little objective data is available to support this speculation.

Considerable evidence from experimental studies indicates different social consequences of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic goal structures. Cooperative goal structures facilitate positive feelings about oneself and toward peers (Aronson, et al., 1978; Johnson & Johnson, 1974) in contrast to competitive goal structures which are assumed to have the opposite effect. Very little research has been done on the inter-

personal aspects of individualism (Johnson & Johnson, 1974). Cooperation increases friendly conversation (praise, suggestions, and encouragement), sharing materials, and helping (Stendler, Damrin, & Haines, 1951); liking for classes, sharing information and working and talking together (Wheeler & Ryan, 1973); group cohesion (Phillips & D'Amico, 1956); and liking for school, liking for group mates and self-esteem (Blaney, et al., 1977). While evidence from all of these experimental studies support the conclusion that it is the small interdependent group, or cooperative goal structure, which leads to prosocial behavior, previous investigators have manipulated goal structures, therefore these findings may not be representative of current naturally occurring classroom goal structures.

In contrast to research which emphasizes the importance of classroom structure, a second body of research indicates teachers and adults influence children's social and interpersonal orientation. According to Gerard and Miller (1975) biased teachers placed in desegregated classrooms perpetuate stereotypes among students; teacher expectations regarding student performance have important effects (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Teachers may also model prosocial behavior, since children who observe adults helping and giving are more likely to help and give (Rosenhan & White, 1967; Staub, 1971).

Self-Esteem

There is evidence that both goal structures and teacher behaviors may influence self-esteem. Cooperative goal structures have been shown to increase self-esteem in Anglo American, Mexican American, and Blacks (Blaney, et al., 1977). With regard to teacher behaviors: Coopersmith and Feldman (1974) theorize that classroom teachers who accept, trust, and help their students will produce children with positive self-evaluation;

Purkey (1970) suggests that the teacher's attitudes toward himself or herself and what the teacher does in the classroom has an affect on the self-esteem of the child and that teachers who are warm and respectful are more likely to have students with high self-esteem; and Covington and Beery (1976) contend that teachers who display "unconditional acceptance" are likely to foster self-worth among students. While acceptance is extremely difficult to measure, variables related to it, such as listening, helping, and praise, can be systematically observed in the classroom.

Classroom Climate

A third major variable which may be influenced by goal structures and teacher behaviors is classroom climate. As indicated previously, cooperative goal structures produce cohesive classes with satisfied students (Phillips & D'Amico, 1956; Aronson, et al., 1978). Conversely, competitive goal structures can be expected to produce friction among students and classes which seem difficult (Johnson & Johnson, 1974). Regarding teacher behaviors, Rogers (1969) theorizes that acceptance, unconditional positive regard, and high expectations produce student climates which are cohesive and satisfied with little friction.

Cultural Relativity versus Generality

A second critical issue examined in this study is whether the relations of classroom structures and teacher behaviors to social orientation, self-esteem, and classroom climate are culturally relative or general. In support of cultural generality, Kagan and Madsen (1971) compared the way Anglo American, Mexican American, and Mexican children responded to four different instructional sets and found across all sets Mexican children were most cooperative, Anglo American least cooperative, and Mexican Americans fell in the middle. No significant interaction of

culture with instructional set was observed. Examining maternal teaching styles, Steward and Steward (1974) found that Anglo American and Mexican American mothers' teaching style elicited the same behaviors regardless of the ethnicity of the child she was teaching. In addition, Aronson, et al. (1978) found that cooperative goal structures affect Anglo, Black, and Mexican American children in a similar fashion; interdependence increases liking for peers and self-esteem, and decreases competitiveness.

In contrast to the evidence for cultural generality is the finding that interdependent learning situations can have a culturally relative effect on Anglo Americans as compared to Blacks and Mexican Americans. Lucker, Rosenfield, Sikes, and Aronson, (1976) found that cooperative goal structures significantly increase the academic performance of minorities but not Anglos.

Methods

Subjects

Subjects were 15 third through fifth grade teachers (11 female; 4 male) and 107 children ages 7-11. Seventy-seven children were Anglo American (36 boys, 41 girls) and 30 Mexican American (13 boys, 17 girls) ethnic proportions approximating those of the school district. Children were sampled from three elementary schools in the same school district in southern California and randomly selected from each classroom to participate in this study. The schools serve mixed rural and semi-rural, lower to lower-middle income populations.

Instruments

Classroom goal structure and teacher behaviors. To systematically observe goal structures and teacher behaviors, a naturalistic observation scale adapted from the work of Crockenberg and Bryant (Note 2) was used.

The scale measured the following variables: frequency of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic goal structures, frequency of talking allowed, praise, listening, question asking, and helping behavior, along with the mode of class structure: whole class, small groups, or individual instruction.

The variables are defined as follows: cooperative goal structure exists if students can obtain their goal if, and only if, the other students with whom they are grouped can obtain their goals; competitive goal structure exists if students can obtain their goal if the other students with whom they are grouped fail to obtain their goal; and individualistic goal structure exists if the achievement of the goal by one student is unrelated to the achievement of the goal by other students. Talking allowed was recorded if during the observation interval the teacher allowed children to talk with classmates. Praise was recorded if the teacher was observed to verbally comment, in a positive manner, on the social or academic behavior of a specific child, group of children, or whole class. Listening was recorded if the teacher's body was oriented toward the speaker, if she/he responded non-verbally (e.g., head nod, solving problem on the board), or in a logical verbal response to a child's comment. Questions were recorded if the teacher made a verbal request from a student, group or whole class asking if a child needed help (needs help), if the child could help her (for help), or asking for a specific, content answer to a specific academic question (content). Two types of helping were defined. In the first type of helping, teacher helps, the teacher showed a child, group, or class how to solve a task. In the second type of helping, teacher solves, the teacher actually solved the task for the child or children. Mode of class strucutre was recorded as individual,

group, whole class, or none and used to describe the direction of the teacher's attention. All observations were recorded during 30 second intervals and rating procedures are described in more detail in the Procedures section.

Social Orientation. The social orientation of the children was assessed with two Social Orientation Choice Cards (SOCC: see Figure 1) which are similar in size and appearance to a behavioral choice card used in previous research (Knight & Kagan, 1977). Each card is designed to allow subjects to choose one of three alternatives, differing in the social orientation they satisfy; cooperation, competition or individualism. The two SOCC cards were; A Three Orientation Card (Figure 1A) allowing children to select from cooperative, competitive, and individualistic choices, and a Two Orientation Card (Figure 1B) allowing choices among competitive, cooperative, and neutral alternatives. By selecting one of these alternatives a child can determine both his outcome and a peer's outcome. To control for response sets, six forms of each card were produced with each of the three choices appearing in all possible positions; left, center, and right. A lower limit of .72 for reliability of a SOCC has been demonstrated by previous research (Knight & Kagan, 1977).

Insert Figure 1 about here

Self-Esteem. Due to its high test-retest reliability (r = .85) and because it provides a unidimensional scale of self-acceptance, Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) was selected to measure self-esteem.

Classroom Climate. The My Class Inventory (Anderson, Note 3) was used to assess classroom climate. It contains 45 yes-no items distributed

over the subscales satisfaction, friction, competitiveness, difficulty, and cohesiveness with individual scale reliabilities, for the 5 scales, ranging from .54 to .77. An example of a competitive item is, "Most children want their work to be better than their friend's work"; a cohesive item is, "In my class I like to work with others".

Procedures

Classroom goal structure and teacher behaviors. The teacher observation scale was pilot tested for two months prior to formal data collection. Before entering the classroom, observers mutually defined specific, observable teacher behaviors of theoretical interest and prepared an observational manual.[2] During the pilot period, two trained undergraduates with stopwatches each observed two teachers for 40 one-minute intervals. Each one-minute interval included 30 seconds of observation and 30 seconds of recording time. To control for classroom activity all observations were recorded during reading. For pragmatic reasons, only classrooms where the teacher volunteered to participate were visited. However, only one teacher failed to volunteer. Near the end of the pilot period, an average percent agreement, inter-rater reliability coefficient was calculated for each of the observational categories. Reliabilities ranged from 85% to 100% agreement, averaging 95% agreement.

During the next 5 months, one of the two observers observed 7 teachers while the other observed 8 teachers. Each classroom was visited once, during reading, and the observers recorded 30 observations on each teacher. Observers spent approximately 45 minutes to one hour in each classroom. Inter-rater reliability coefficients were computed three times during the study, week 1, week 3, and week 17. On those occasions, the two raters simultaneously observed a different teacher for the full 45 minute interval.

Overall percent agreement was found to be 94%, 95%, and 97% consecutively.

Social Orientation. SOCC. Approximately a third of the children from each class, equally divided by sex, were randomly sampled to participate in the choice card task. A total of 107 children were tested on all 12 forms of the SOCC. To control for order effects of choice alternatives, a counterbalancing procedure was formulated. As explained in the instrument section, six forms of the Three Orientation Card contained all possible orders of cooperation, competition, and individualism while six forms of the Two Orientation Card contained all possible orders of cooperation, competition, and neutral condition. The card forms were presented over twelve trials in the same preselected order for all subjects. The order alternated the Two Orientation Card with the Three Orientation Card, and varied the order of alternatives within trials, as follows: Trial 1; (from left to right) Competition (Comp), Individualism (I), Cooperation (Coop); 2: Coop, Neutral (N), Comp; 3: N, Coop, Comp; 4: I, Comp, Coop; 5: Coop, Comp, I; 6: Comp, Coop, N; 7: Coop, Comp, N; 8: Comp, Coop, I; 9: I, Coop, Comp, 10: N, Comp, Coop, 11: Comp, N, Coop; 12: Coop, I, Comp.

One male and one female undergraduate, both naive to the experimental hypotheses, administered the SOCC to the 107 children. For the present investigation an imaginary peer administration procedure was used as previous research has shown that an imaginary peer condition correlates highly with an actual peer present condition (Knight & Kagan, 1977a) while eliminating the confounding effects of peer presence. Each child was taken from the classroom and seated at a table with the SOCC centered in front of him/her. The experimenter explained the choice alternatives to the subject by showing the child an example of the card and telling the child that the squares on the card were worth chips. Children were informed that at the end of the

game, the more chips they had the more toys they would receive. Children were allowed to choose any of the three alternatives each time for 12 trials. Each time the child made a choice the experimenter placed the chips on the side of the board closest to the subject into a opaque cup for the subject and the chips earned on the opposite side into a cup for an unidentified peer back in the classroom.

Self-Esteem and Classroom Climate. In the teacher's absence, the Self-Esteem Scale and My Class Inventory were administered to the children as a group. Children were assured their teachers would not see their responses, then each item was read aloud and children responded individually by marking their own inventory sheets. As the Self-Esteem Scale was originally validated on adolescents, the scale administrator was careful to assure each child understood each item.

Results

Results were analyzed to determine the frequency of occurrence of the different classroom goal structures; the interrelations of classroom goal structures and teacher behaviors; and the relation of ethnographic variables (culture, age, and sex), teacher variables and classroom variables to social orientation, self-esteem, and classroom climate.

For each of the three major dependent variables, two class means were computed (one for Anglo Americans and one for Mexican Americans). The class means were based on a sample of approximately one third of the children in each class. Due to the small numbers of Mexican Americans sampled from classrooms (ranging from 5 to 1), a multiple regression analysis was conducted, entering number of Mexican American and Anglo American children as a variable; the analysis indicates that the various sample sizes were equally representative, that is, sample size did not significantly predict

variance in social orientation, self-esteem, or classroom climate. Therefore results from classrooms with a small number of Mexican Americans were considered representative of those with a large number.

Frequency of Goal Structures

When goal structure observations were combined across all teachers the percent breakdown for each category of the total 450 observations was: 8% competitive goal structure, 44% individualistic goal structures, and 48% cooperative goal structures. Nine of fifteen teachers who participated in this study were observed to use no competitive goal structures; they relied exclusively on individualistic and cooperative goal structures. Of the six teachers who used competitive goal structures only one teacher used them more than 50% of the time.

Interrelations of Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors

To determine the extent to which the two major sets of predictor variables (Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors) were interrelated, Pearson correlations were conducted. Relations of classroom structure variables to each other and of teacher behaviors to each other were also examined by Pearson correlations.

Results indicate that group class structure is positively related to cooperative goal structure ($r = .49$, $p < .01$). A strong, negative correlation between individual goal structure and cooperative goal structure ($r = -.91$, $p < .01$) was found. No other significant relations among classroom structure and goal structure variables were found.

Several teacher variables are positively intercorrelated with each other. These relations appear to be due to the positive and significant relations between talking and the following variables: questions (content) ($r = .47$, $p < .01$), listens ($r = .56$, $p < .01$), praise ($r = .55$, $p < .01$), and teacher

helps (r = .64, p < .01). Of the remaining teacher variables only questions (needs help) and questions (content) (r = .53, p < .01) and praise and helping (r = .73, p < .01) are significantly correlated.

Only two significant correlations between classroom structure and teacher behavior variables were found. They are no class structure with listens (r = -.55, p < .01) and individual class structure with praise (r = .45, p < .01).

Effects of Culture, Age, Sex, and Choice Card. To examine the effects of culture, age, sex, and choice card (Three Orientation or Two Orientation) on social orientation, a 2 x 4 x 2 x 2 analysis of variance was conducted on the frequency of choice of each of the three SOCC alternatives as explained below. Preliminary analyses revealed no significant effect due to trials so the data are collapsed across that variable. While these analyses violate the assumption of independence they are the most parsimonious display of the results. The analyses reveal significant main effects of choice card indicating that the children made more cooperative choices, [$F(1,91) = 4.21$, $p < .05$, $\bar{X}_1 = 2.04$, $\bar{X}_2 = 2.44$], and more competitive choices [$F(1,91) = 6.75$, $p < .05$, $\bar{X}_1 = 1.49$, $\bar{X}_2 = 1.99$] on the Two Orientation Card ($\bar{X}_2$) than on the Three Orientation Card ($\bar{X}_1$). No other significant effects were found. Due to the small differences between the two choice cards and since the Two Orientation Card contained no individualistic choice alternatives, all subsequent analyses were conducted on the Three Orientation Card data.

Relations to Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors. Table 1 presents the zero order correlations relating the classroom structure variables and teacher behaviors to the social orientation variables. For Anglo American children no goal structure variables correlate significantly

with social orientation. However, teacher behaviors are significantly related to competition, cooperation, and individualism. Among the Anglo American children, teacher listening is negatively related to competition; teacher questioning (needs help) is positively related to cooperation; and teacher praise and teacher helps are positively related with individualism.

For the Mexican American children, in contrast to Anglo American children, neither goal structure nor teacher behaviors are significantly related to competition and no teacher behaviors correlate significantly with cooperation or individualism. Among the Mexican American children, cooperative goal structure and no class structure are positively related to cooperation while individualistic goal structure is negatively related to cooperation; and cooperative goal structure is negatively related to individualism.

Insert Table 1 about here

Self-Esteem

Effects of Culture, Age, and Sex. To determine if there are significant culture, age, and sex differences in self-esteem a culture x age x sex analysis of variance (2 x 4 x 2) was conducted. There are no significant effects.

Relations to Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors. The pattern of relations of the classroom structure variables and teacher behaviors to self-esteem are remarkably different from the pattern with the social orientation variables. Among the Anglo American children, self-esteem is related to the goal structure and class structure variables and not with

teacher behaviors while among Mexican American children self-esteem is related to teacher behaviors and not to classroom structure. Among the Anglo American children, competitive goal structure is negatively related to self-esteem (r = -.53, p < .05); group class structure is negatively related to self-esteem (r = -.51, p < .05); and individualistic class structure is positively related to self-esteem (r = .53, p < .05). Among the Mexican American children, however, the teacher behaviors of question asking (needs help) (r = .45, p < .05) and listening (r = .49, p < .05) are both positively related to self-esteem.

Classroom Climate

Effects of Culture, Age, and Sex. For each classroom climate subscale (satisfaction, friction, difficulty, competitiveness, and cohesiveness) a culture x age x sex (2 x 4 x 2) analysis of variance is conducted. Although these analyses violate the assumption of independence they are the most parsimonious presentation of the results. Four cases were lost due to attrition bringing the sample down to 103 for the classroom climate measure. These analyses reveal significant main effects of age for satisfaction, $F(3,87) = 8.16$, $p < .001$, competitiveness, $F(3,87) = 2.85$, $p < .05$, and cohesiveness, $F(3,87) = 7.28$, $p < .001$. Simple effects tests using the Scheffe test indicate: the 11 year old children are significantly ($p < .05$) less satisfied than the 7-8, 9, or 10 year old children; the 9 year old children perceive the classroom as significantly ($p < .05$) less competitive than the 7-8, 10, or 11 year old children; and classrooms of 11 year old children are significantly ($p < .05$) less cohesive than those of 7-8 and 9 year old children. There are no other significant main effects, interactions, or simple effects.

Relations to Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors. As shown in Table 2, among the Anglo American children competitive goal structure is positively related to satisfaction and cohesiveness; the teacher behavior of talking allowed is negatively related to friction and positively related to satisfaction and cohesiveness; questions (content) are negatively related to friction. Listens correlates positively with satisfaction and cohesiveness. Teacher solves correlates positively with satisfaction and cohesiveness negatively with friction.

Insert Table 2 about here

Among Mexican American children, competitive goal structure is negatively related to friction; no class structure correlates positively with friction and difficulty; the teacher behavior of talking allowed is negatively related to friction and competitiveness; questions are negatively related to friction; listens correlates negatively with friction and difficulty and positively with satisfaction and cohesiveness; praise is negatively related to friction; and teacher helping correlates negatively with friction and competitiveness.

Discussion

Although the present investigation has the limits of a relatively small sample size and was conducted only among volunteer teachers, two important findings emerge. First, classrooms have less competitive and more cooperative goal structures than previously thought; and second, the relation of teacher behaviors and classroom structure to social orientation, self-esteem, and classroom climate are culturally relative.

The finding that classroom goal structures are not primarily competitive is in contrast to previous assumptions (Blaney, et al., 1977; Johnson & Johnson, 1974; Sharan, Hertz-Lazarowitz, & Ackerman, Note 1). While the present findings are only suggestive, it may be necessary to reexamine the premises that classrooms are necessarily primarily competitive and that competitiveness among children is largely due to competitive goal structures provided by teachers.

With regard to the second major finding, the radically different correlational patterns of classroom structure and teacher behaviors with social orientation for Anglo American and Mexican American children provide support for the cultural relativity of the effects of classroom variables. Teacher behaviors (listening, questions, praise, and helping) but not class structure tend to be related to social orientation of Anglo American children. Conversely, it is classroom structure (i.e. cooperative and individualistic goal structures) but not teacher behaviors which relate to the social orientation of Mexican Americans. These findings fail to confirm the conclusions of previous studies (e.g., Blaney, et al., 1977) which suggest that manipulated goal structures influence the social orientation of Blacks, Anglos, and Mexican Americans in a similar manner. However, these findings are consistent with research indicating a culturally relative relationship between interdependent classroom structures and academic performance (Lucker, et al., 1976; Slavin, 1977). The present findings along with those of Slavin and Lucker, et al. (1976) suggest that it may be important to examine the implications of a culturally relative model for desegregation and teacher training. If children from different ethnic backgrounds attend to different aspects of the classroom, when teachers who have previously taught primarily in a culturally homogeneous group of children are suddenly faced with a heterogeneous group,

effective learning and social development may require that the teachers adapt to the cultural styles of the children. As studies such as this one begin to document cultural differences among children, teachers may become more sensitive to cultural differences and desegregation may become more effective.

That classroom structure and teacher behaviors are differentially related to social orientation among the two cultural groups may be due to social interaction patterns learned at home (Hoffman, 1970, 1975; Maslow & Diaz-Guerrero, 1960; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977) and reinforced by social institutions. Mexican American children, who tend to come from large families which stress mutual dependency and putting the needs of the individual second to the benefit of the whole (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974), may be more sensitive to peer influences on social orientation. Peer influences are probably stronger in classrooms with cooperative goal structures, for children work together in contrast to classrooms with individualistic goal structures in which children do not work as a group toward common goals. The present investigation provides support for the conclusion that cooperative goal structures and interdependence encourage cooperative social orientations and discourage individualistic social orientations among Mexican American children.

Anglo American children, in contrast, come from smaller families, have fewer brothers and sisters and tend to have more sense of "separate identity" (Ramirez & Castañada, 1974) than Mexican American children. This may lead them to be less sensitive to peer effects in terms of goal structures when behaving in cooperative, competitive, and individualistic social orientations. In general, it is teacher characteristics which influence social orientations among Anglo American children. This finding is consistent

with previous research (Staub, 1971; Rosenhan & White, 1967).

It was also found that neither goal structure nor teacher behavior significantly relate to the competitiveness of Mexican American children. When no class structure is imposed on Mexican American children, they tend to behave cooperatively. This cooperative preference is very similar to the pattern found by Kagan and Madsen (1971) in an experimental task. Children were administered four different instructional sets stressing varying degrees of group and individual orientation, and when allowed to freely structure the situation, Mexican Americans preferred to act co-operatively.

The related finding that Anglo Americans are more competitive than Mexican Americans on the behavioral choice cards was not confirmed in the present investigation. This may be due to the highly acculturated nature of the present sample of Mexican Americans. While generation data were not collected in this study, it was observed that very few of the Mexican Americans spoke Spanish as their primary language. Language dominance is often used as an index of acculturation. Previous evidence indicates that third-generation Mexican American children are more likely to resemble Anglo Americans in their competitive behavior than are second-generation Mexican Americans (Knight & Kagan, 1977b).

Like the pattern for social orientation, the present investigation supports conclusions that teacher behaviors and goal structures are related in a culturally relative pattern to self-esteem. Previous research (Aronson, et al., 1978) indicates when cooperation increases so does self-esteem in all ethnic groups - Blacks, Anglos, Mexican Americans. Results of the present study, in contrast, indicate that self-esteem is related to variables other than those which influence cooperative social orientations and that

these differ according to the culture. For Mexican American children, self-esteem is related to teachers asking questions and listening; while for Anglo American children feelings about themselves are more likely to be related to goal structure variables. Anglo American children show increases in self-esteem in classrooms which stress working alone and decreases in self-esteem in classrooms which stress group class structures and competitive goal structure. In general, the results of the present investigation indicate that self-esteem and social orientation do not follow similar correlational patterns.

The culturally different patterns of classroom variables and self-esteem may result from the multidimensional nature of self-esteem (Wylie, 1974); different cultural groups may attend to different components of self-esteem. Self-esteem has two components; self-observation of efficacy and feedback from significant others (Aronson, et al., 1978; Coopersmith & Feldman, 1974). Most likely, among Anglo American children efficacy is highly based on a social comparison process. Therefore in group class structures and competitive goal structures, where they have a chance to compare themselves to others, Anglo American children may perceive themselves as relatively less efficacious.

Mexican American children, in contrast, who tend to express a greater need for affiliation, and a greater need for guidance, direction and support from authority figures (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974) probably attend more to cues from significant others, when evaluating themselves. To a Mexican American child, if an important authority (e.g. the teacher) listens and questions them, they may feel esteem for themselves.

The culturally relative relationship of teacher behaviors to self-esteem fails to support the generality of work by Coopersmith and Feldman

(1974), Purkey (1970), and Covington and Beery (1976). These authors theorize that acceptance, in terms of listening and questioning, necessarily leads to positive self-esteem.

Unlike either social orientation or self-esteem, the cross-cultural correlational patterns for the classroom climate variables are very similar among the Anglo American and Mexican American samples. Teacher behaviors are strongly related to feelings of satisfaction, friction, competitiveness, difficulty, and cohesiveness and show a more similar pattern for both cultural groups than do classroom structure variables. It may be that teacher behaviors are powerfully related to classroom climates and that previous findings relating cohesiveness and satisfaction to manipulated goal structures are due to teacher behaviors associated with particular structures. For example, in classrooms in which cooperative goal structures are experimentally created, teacher behaviors are also influenced. Interdependent cooperative classrooms necessarily allow more talking than do traditional classrooms and probably demand that teachers listen more as well.

A surprising finding of the present investigation is that classrooms with a high frequency of competitive goal structures tend to be rated positively by both Anglo American and Mexican American children. This finding fails to confirm previous research indicating that competitive goal structures necessarily lead to classroom climates which are less cohesive, more competitive, and which create more friction among all children (Johnson & Johnson, 1974; Phillips & D'Amico, 1956). It is possible to speculate that competitive goal structures increase satisfaction and cohesion among Anglo American children because those goal structures are consistent with their cultural expectations, and that competitive goal structures reduce friction among Mexican American children because they

are relatively highly structured and so reduce interpersonal contact associated with more cooperative or interdependent structures. The finding of positive reactions to competitive goal structures, however, must be taken as only suggestive for competitive goal structures, as noted, were relatively uncommon.

In summary, findings of the present investigation indicate that: classroom goal structures may be less competitive and more cooperative than previously thought, teacher behaviors and classroom structure are related in a culturally relative manner to the social orientation and self-esteem of Anglo American and Mexican American children, and teacher behaviors such as, listening and helping, are positively related to children's ratings of classroom climate for both cultural groups.

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Footnotes

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[2]The Teacher Observation Manual was prepared by Barbara Downer, Jann Gumbiner, Steve Ross, Judy Wage, and Carl Wolter. Copies may be obtained by request from Jann Gumbiner, Psychology Dept., University of California, Riverside.

Table 1

The Relation of Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors

to Social Orientation among Anglo American and Mexican American Children

	Anglo American Children			Mexican American Children		
	Competition	Cooperation	Individualism	Competition	Cooperation	Individualism
Classroom Structures						
Competitive Goal Structures	.07	-.25	.22	-.33	.00	.32
Cooperative Goal Structures	-.22	.10	.03	-.04	.48*	-.48*
Individualistic Goal Structure	.17	.03	-.13	.19	-.45*	.31
Individualistic Class Structure	-.43	.10	.26	-.20	-.14	.35
Group Class Structure	-.10	.24	-.21	-.07	.12	-.06
No Class Structure	.23	-.16	-.01	-.39	.60**	-.28
Teacher Behaviors						
Questions (Needs help)	-.39	.45*	-.22	.19	-.18	.02
Listens	-.52*	.24	.15	.03	-.21	.20
Praise	-.23	-.23	.49*	-.34	.03	.30
Teacher helps	.01	-.36	.47*	-.36	.06	.29

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 2

The Relation of Classroom Structures and Teacher Behaviors

to Classroom Climate among Anglo American and Mexican American Children

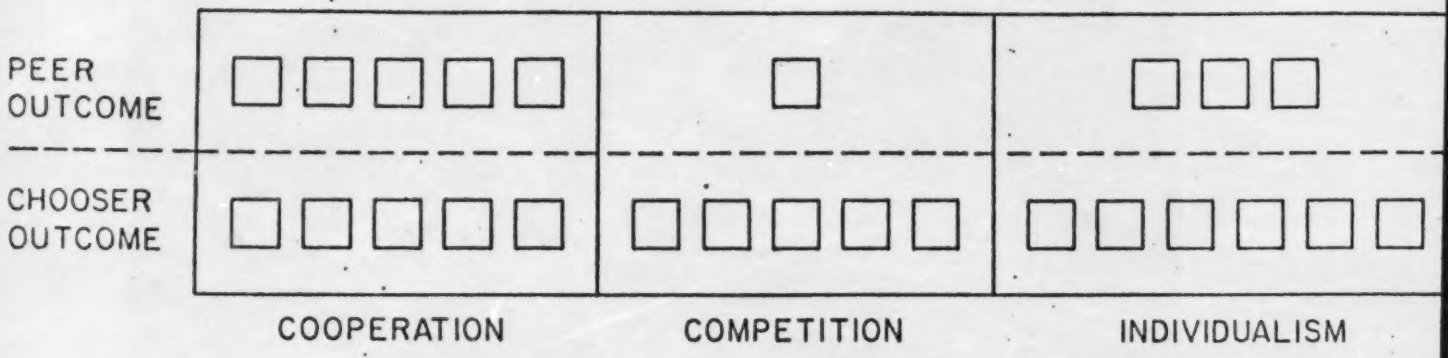
	Anglo American Children					Mexican American Children				
	Satis-faction	Fric-tion	Competit-iveness	Diffic-ulty	Cohes-iveness	Satis-faction	Fric-ion	Competit-iveness	Diffic-ulty	Cohes-iveness
Classroom Structures										
Competitive Goal Structure	.48*	-.34	-.35	-.04	.56*	-.09	-.45*	-.03	.11	.16
Cooperative Goal Structure	-.43	.15	.46*	.13	-.06	-.27	.36	.30	.25	.35
Individual Goal Structure	.21	.00	-.29	-.11	-.20	.30	-.15	-.27	-.29	-.41
No Class Structure	-.19	.29	.33	-.12	-.34	-.43	.49*	.14	.67**	-.20
Teacher Behaviors										
Talking Allowed	.45*	-.52*	.03	.41	.58*	.27	-.67**	-.53*	-.27	.42
Questions (Content)	.31	-.48*	-.42	-.20	.25	-.01	-.49*	-.14	-.37	-.03
Listens	.51*	-.38	-.17	.41	.45*	.55*	-.75**	-.32	-.57*	.48*
Praise	.36	-.36	-.08	.01	.37	.00	-.46*	-.38	-.07	.11
Teacher Solves	.59*	-.52*	.00	.15	.50*	.03	-.57*	-.50*	-.24	.21

* $p < .05$

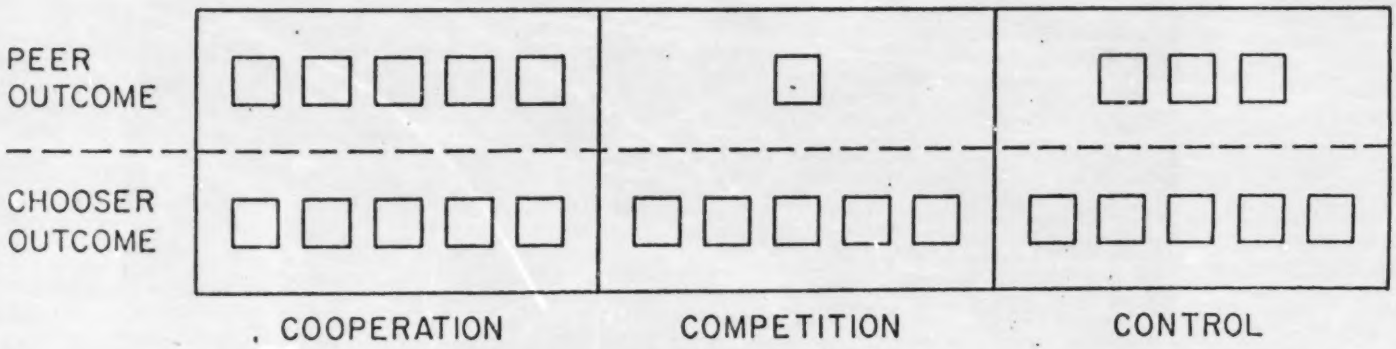
** $p < .01$

Figure Caption

Figure 1. The Social Orientation Choice Cards



IA: THREE ORIENTATION CARD



IB: TWO ORIENTATION CARD